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THE EVOLUTION OF KHYĀL

M. V. DHOND

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PREFACE

This monograph, originally entitled 'Prabhand, Dhrupad and Khyāl, was written in Marathi and read on 23 November 1974 before a select audience of musicians, musicologists and litterateurs of Maharashtra, invited by the Mumbai Marathi Sahitya Sangh, Bombay. The monograph in Marathi and its translation into Hindi were published in *Sangīta Kalā Vihār* (Vol : 28, Nos. 4 & 5). Some modifications have been made in the present translation into English to make it presentable to non-Marathi audience.

I have to thank my friend Sri S.B. Joshi of the National Library, Calcutta, for tracing and translating from Bengali into English the passages from Pandit Krishnadhan Bandopadhyay's book quoted by Pandit V. N. Bhatkhande, without giving any references whatsoever, Dr. S. H. Deshpande, Dr. B.R. Dhekne and Prof. J. D. Swamidasan for going through the manuscript and making valuable suggestions and Dr. P.L. Deshpande, Sri Vijay Tendulkar and Sangeet Natak Akademi for the present publication.

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The Evolution of Khyāl

Histories of Hindustani music are mostly based on hearsay and anecdotes. These anecdotes make an interesting and entertaining reading, provided one suspends all sense of time and moves in eternity. Many a time these histories are presented in vertical divisions such as forms, styles, schools, *rāga-s*, *tāla-s*, instruments etc. without correlating them with each other. That Hindustani music is closely related to poetry, metrics, dance, drama, worship, the bhakti-cult, *Harikathā*, *kirtana*, folk-songs etc. is yet to be fully realized by historians of Hindustani music). It is only when one attempts a composite history of Hindustani music in chronological order on the basis of hearsay and anecdotes, that cracks begin to show. When one tries to be precise and gives dates of important events and of persons connected with them the cracks widen and bring down the entire fabric. As an instance in point, we quote below a few passages from Śrī Vamanrao Deshpande's '*Maharashtra's Contribution to Music*'—

(1) It was by a fusion of the efforts of Amir Khusro and Gopal Nayak that many a musical innovation took place, including the birth of the present *Khyāl*. (The *Khyāl* took about four hundred years more to take root and establish itself.)[1]

(2) Initially, it was the *Prabandha* which ranked as the highest form of the art until the *Dhrupad* emigrated from the North around the early seventeenth century.[2]

(3) The *Dhrupad* form, an essentially Hindu creation, is

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generally ascribed to Raja Maan of Gwalior (1486-1526), who is said to have evolved it as a successful counter to the then growing influence of the *Khyāl*, which is supposed to be of Muslim origin.[3]

(4) The *Khyāl* owes its origin to Niyamat Khan or 'Sadarang' (as he called himself in his *cheej-s*), who was the court-musician of the Mogul Emperor Mohamad Shah (1719-1748).[4]

(5) ...the *Khyāl* came to be established in Maharashtra around 1885...[5]

It is to him [Balkrishnabuwa] that we owe the dawn of the *Khyāl* era in Maharashtra. Not that there were no earlier *Khyālia-s* in Maharashtra, but their influence was so slight that they can at best be said to have paved the way for Balkrishnabuwa's arrival.[6]

Contradiction between passages No. 3 and 4 would be apparent even to a superficial reader. If Niyamat Khan, the court musician of Mohamad Shah (1719-1748), was the originator of the *khyāl*, how could Raja Maan (1486-1526) have evolved the *dhrupad* to counter its growing influence more than two centuries before its birth? But while making this statement the author obviously has in mind his earlier statement in passage No. 1, which attributes the birth of the *khyāl* to Amir Khusro in the 14th century. The author seems to be aware of this discrepancy and the amendment in parenthesis viz. 'The *Khyāl* took about four hundred years more to take root and establish itself', seems to have been made to cover it up. But even so how could Niyamat Khan be the father of the *khyāl* if 'a fusion of the efforts of Amir Khusro and Gopal Nayak' was responsible for its birth? And if the *khyāl* took 400 years more to take root and establish itself after its birth in the 14th century, how could Raja Maan have been disturbed by its 'growing influence' in the 15th century?

Ironing out these obvious discrepancies Śrī Deshpande's brief account can be summarized in the following words. Of the three forms of Hindustani music viz. the *prabandha*, the *dhrupad* and the *khyāl*, only the *prabandha* prevailed upto the end

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of the 13th century. During the early years of the 14th century Amir Khusro with the help of Gopal Nayak evolved the *khyāl* form. In order to counter the growing influence of the *khyāl* Raja Maan created the *dhrupad* in the first quarter of the 15th century, which succeeded in subduing the *khyāl* till Niyamat Khan revived it again in the 18th century. From that time on the *khyāl* continued to flourish in the North and it was Balkrishnabuwa Ichalkaranjikar who brought it to Maharashtra in the late 19th century—to be precise around the year 1885.

We might thus succeed in removing the inner contradictions in Śrī Deshpande's brief account of Hindustani music from the 13th to the end of the 19th century; but is this account borne out by facts? Let us examine his statements in the light of whatever recorded evidence is available to us. Let us start from the end of his account.

Śrī Deshpande says that Balkrishnabuwa, who returned to Maharashtra from the North in the year 1885, was the founder of the *khyāl* era in Maharashtra. Now it is well known that in 1880 Aṇṇasaheb Kirloskar staged the first musical play 'Śākuntala', which instantly gained great popularity. Its music shows an unmistakable influence of *kīrtana*, folk-music, *lāvaṇī*, *thumrī*, *dhrupad* and *khyāl*. The main singer-actor Baḷkoba Natekar and later Bhaurao Kolhatkar had received instruction in classical music in both the *dhrupad* and the *khyāl*. S. T. Shāligram in his introduction to a collection of *lāvaṇis* of Honaji Baḷa (?—c. 1820) published in 1874 says that 'owing to the increasing popularity of Honajis *lāvaṇī-s* singing girls of Pune had to give up *khyāl* and *ṭappā* and sing his *lāvaṇī-s* instead'[7]. In '*V.S.ce Mārmika Aitihasika Lekha*,' published in 1894 the author says that 'Bajirao the Second, who was the last ruler of the Maratha Empire (1796-1818), used to ask the dancing girls, after an hour or two of dance, to sit down and sing *khyāl*, *ṭappā* and *dhrupad*[8]. These records thus show that the *khyāl* was not only prevalent but also very popular at least a century before Balkrishnabuwa. It is true that these records speak of the stage, the music-halls

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of singing girls and the court of Bajirao, the profligate ruler of Maharashtra. But surely if the *khyāl* was thus popular there must have been masters at whose feet these actor-singers and singing girls learnt it. All that Balkrishnabuwa did was to give it a status in the elite class of Maharashtra by performing it in concert halls. We shall try to understand his success later.

Śrī Deshpande says that the *khyāl* owes its origin to Niyamat Khan, the court-musician of Mohamad Shah (1719-1748). We find, however, two references to the *khyāl* in the the songs of Madhvamunīśvara (1679-1731). They are as follows :

1. Kathemadhe gāuni khyāla ṭappā /
   Seṭipudhe māriti phār gappā / /[9]
   [They sing *khyāl* and *ṭappā* in *kīrtana* and boast before their patrons].
2. Ṭappe khyāla kiteka gāti yamake jale
   phukāce kavi /[10]
   [Many so-called poets sing ṭappā, khyāl and rhymes].

Now, even if we assume, that Niyamat Khan invented the *khyāl* in the very first year of Mohamad Shah's reign i.e. in 1719 and Madhvamunīśvara wrote these lines on his death bed i.e. in 1731, how could the *khyāl* invented by Niyamat Khān in the North become so popular in Maharashtra as to be sung in *kīrtana* within a short span of 12 years ? Surely, any new form of music would take at least a decade to take root in its home soil and quite a few decades to spread to far off regions.

While traversing the past in search of the *khyāl* we have stumbled on the *ṭappā*. Let us, therefore, digress a little and have a closer look at the *ṭappā*.

Capt. Willard says :

> It has been brought to its present degree of perfection by the famous Shori Mian, who in some measure may be considered its founder. *Ṭappās* were

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formerly sung in very rude style by the camel-drivers of the Punjab and it was he who modelled it into the elequence it is now sung. *Ṭappā-s* bave two *Tuk-s*, and are generally sung in the language spoken in Punjab, or mixed jargon of that and Hindi. They recite the loves of Hir and Ranjha, equally renowned for their attachment and misfortunes, and allude to some circumstance in the history of their lives.[11]

Now Shori Mian was the pen-name of Gulam Nabi, the court-musician of Asafuddanta of Ayodhya who ruled from 1775 to 1794. Our records, however, show that *ṭappa-s* were being sung in *kīrtan s* in Maharashtra even before 1731. These, certainly, could not have been the crude love songs of the Punjab camel-drivers. We do not want to dispute the claim of the Punjab to be the birth place of the *ṭappā* ; but surely it must have spread to the rest of North India and Maharashtra much before Gulam Nabi and that too in a much more sophisticated form to be ranked with the *khyāl* and sung in *kīrtan-s*.

Having seen the hollowness of the assertion that Gulam Nabi was the founder of *ṭappa*, let us revert to the *khyāl*.

Śrī Deshpande, like most other historians, says that the *khyāl* owes its genesis to the combined efforts of Amir Khusro and Gopal Nayak. The meeting of these two could have taken place during the reign of Allauddin Khilji after his campaign in the South, when he took away Gopal Nayak with him to Delhi, i.e., during 1296-1325. Now Namdev (1260-1350), the saint-poet of Maharashtra, who is credited with having made *kīrtan* popular in Maharashtra, mentions the *khyāl* in one of his *abhangs* thus :

Rājasī tāmasī je gāna /
Todī tāla modī māna / /
Khyāla gāye kampasvara /
Rijhavi dātyāce antara / /
He to prītī dhanāvarī /
Arthā anartha to karī //

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Nāmā mhane śastrārtha /
Artha toci hoya svārtha //[12]

[*Rājasa* and *tāmasa* singers ignore *tāla*, jerk their necks and sing *khyāl-s* in a vibrating tone to please their patrons. These have their eyes on money and into the bargain distort the meaning of the songs they sing. Namdev says for their selfish ends (*svārtha*) they extract money (*artha*) from holy scriptures (*śastrārtha*)].

This *abhang* not only mentions the *khyāl* but high lights its special features in contrast with the *dhrupad*. The *dhrupad* is essentially religious while the *khyāl* is erotic and hence it is *rājasa* and *tāmasa*. The *dhrupad* insists on strict adherence to the *tāla* pattern while the *khyāl* can take certain liberties with it. The *dhrupad* is sung with a straight face and in erect posture while the *khyāl* is sung with *ādā* (gestures). *Kampasvara* means *gamaka*. It is defined by Śārngadeva (early 13th century) as 'Svarasya kampo gamakaḥ śrotṛcittasukhavahaḥ[13] '(*Gamaka* is vibration of the tone which is pleasing to the hearts of the audience). Namdev in 'Khyala gaye kampasvara/Rijhavi dātyäce antara' almost echoes this definition. Śārngadeva mentions 15 types of *gamaka-s*, but these are related to music played on instruments like *vīṇā* or sitar. *Gamaka-s* practised in vocal music are known as *tāna, palaṭā, khaṭakā, jamjamā, murkī, harkat, meenda; ghasita, āndolana, ālāpa*, etc. The first six of these are forbidden in the *dhrupad* while they are the most attractive features of the *khyāl* as noted by Namdev. *Dhrupad* compositions are expected to be sung with particular attention to the text and hence words are to be pronounced clearly, while in the *khyāl* the meaning of the composition is distorted due to *bola-tāna, bola-ālāpa*, various *gamaka-s* and irregular and indistinct pronunciation of words.

Now, even if we assume that Namdev, who died at the age of 90 in the year 1350, composed this *abhang* at about the age of 80 in 1340, how could the *khyāl*, born out of the cooperative endeavour of Amir Khusro and Gopal Nayak in the beginning of the 14th century, have migrated to

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Maharashtra within about 20 to 30 years to establish itself so firmly as to lure even the *Haridasa-s* ? This is particularly amazing when we are told that it took almost 400 years to establish itself in the North.

Śrī Deshpande has ignored this mention of the *khyāl* by Namdev but Prof. G.H. Ranade has quoted this very *abhang* to substantiate his assertion that the *khyāl* though invented by Amir Khusro in the early 14th century, could not immediately become popular, as there was considerable resistance to it from the traditionalists[14]. Now, Namdev's *abhang* in itself could be a clear evidence of such resistance but, is it not at the same time an irrefutable proof of the *khyāl's* popularity in as much as it had influenced even the *kirtan*-music in Maharashtra ? That the *khyāl* had become popular during the life time of Namdev clearly proves that it could not have been a new invention and certainly not a gift to Maharashtra from Amir Khusro in the early 14th century. Namdev's allusion to a *sūtra* from Śarngadeva's '*Sangīta Ratnākara*' (13th century) further indicates that the *khyāl*, to be precise the proto-type of the present *khyāl*, was prevalent in Maharashtra at least a century earlier.

Besides Amir Khusro and Niyamat Khan there is a third Muslim who is alleged to be the father of *khyāl*. Capt. Willard says, 'Sultan Hussain Sherqua of Jounpur is the inventor of this class of songs'[15]. Historians of Hindustani music may thus differ in naming the father of *khyāl* but they are all unanimous in their conviction that he must be a Muslim. Since the *khyāl* is supposed to be of Muslim origin it is only natural that the field of search for its father should be limited to the Muslims. But why is the *khyāl* supposed to be of Muslim origin ?

The conviction that the *khyāl* is of Muslim origin is based on the following grounds either explicit or implicit :

(1) Many *cheej-s* in the *khyāl* are composed by Muslims :

(2) Some of the *rāga-s* have Persian or Arabic names ;

(3) Some of the *rāga-s* are named after Muslim musicians ;

(4) The word *khyāl* itself is of Arabic origin ;

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(5) Most of the noted *khyāliyā-s* in the past were Muslims.

Let us examine these grounds.

(1) It is true that many of the *cheej-s* in the *khyāl* have been composed by Muslims and some of them are even addressed to Mohamad Shah, Amin, Ali, etc. But this by itself cannot make the *khyāl* a Muslim creation. *Cheej-s* in the *khyāl* composed by Hindus easily outnumber those composed by Muslims. *Cheej-s* in the *khyāl* being mostly love-songs, it is also natural that they should be addressed by the composers like Niyamat Khan to the patrons for whose pleasure they were sung by singing-girls. The only inference one can reasonably draw from these names is that Muslim rulers were fond of the *khyāl* and hence it flourished in their regimes. Why Muslims liked the *khyāl* more than the *dhrupad* will be examined later.

(2) Names of *raga-s* like *Zeelaf*, *Bākharej*, *Darbarī*, *Bahār*, *Piloo*, *Yaman* and *Śahānā* are cited as of Persian or Arabic origin. Pandit Bhatkhande, surprisingly enough, adds *Jaunpurī*, *Cāndani Kedār* and *Sūr Malhār* to this list[16]. Now, although the rulers of *Jaunpur* were Muslims, *rāga Jaunpuri* named after that region cannot be either Hindu or Muslim. The word '*candanī*, in *Candani Kedār* is on the face of it a Prakrit word derived from the Sanskrit word '*candra*'. The word '*sūr*' in *Sūr Malhār*' stands for Sūrdas, a Hindu saint, who invented that variety of *Malhār*. These three names, therefore, could be dismissed out of hand. Some pundits in their zeal to establish the Hindu origin of *Yaman* and *Śahanā* derive these words from *Yamunā* and *Śobhanā* but no recorded evidence isproduced in support of these derivations. We shall, therefore, grant that all the above mentioned names except the last three, are of Persian or Arabic origin. But how does it prove that these *rāga s* were invented by Persians or Arabs? Do we not find even barber shops and petty eating-houses in India flaunting English names? It is likely, however, that these *rāga-s* were invented by Muslims who gave them Persian or Arabic names But even that is not sufficient to prove that the *khyāl* is of Muslim origin. Apart from these few there

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are scores of other *rāga-s* bearing Indian names sung in the *khyāl*.

(3) *Rāga-s* named after Muslim musicians such as *Miān Malhār*, *Miān-ki-Sārang*, *Bilāskhani Todi*, *Hussaini Kanaḍā* are variations of traditional Indian *rāga-s*. Such variations have also been named after Hindu musicians e.g. *Sūr (dāsi) Malhār*, *Rāmdāsi Malhār*, *Gorakh Kalyān*, etc. Moreover Mian (Tansen) and Bilaskhan (son of Tansen) were Hindus converted to Islam. By conversion they changed their religion but not the rich heritage of Indian music out of which these new variations were created. *Rāga-s* named after Hussain could be said to be created by a Muslim. But here too we should be cautious. Has not Kumar Gandharva named one of his creations '*Gandhi Malhār*, when the Mahatma himself was totally innocent of classical music ?

(4) Two derivations of the word '*khyāl*' are usually suggested ; both, being based on the conviction that the *khyāl* is of Muslim origin, are from Arabic words. One is from the word '*kavvālī*', a form of devotional music composed, performed and appreciated by Muslims. No linguistic evidence is adduced in support of this derivation except that the sounds 'k' and 'l' are common to both. This derivation completely ignores the fact that there is a world of difference between *kavvālī* and the *khyāl* in respect of the content, performing style and also the kind of audience to which they are addressed. The other derivation is from the Arabic word ,*khyāl*', which means 'meditation, imagination, mood etc.' Since the *khyāl*, as opposed to the *dhrupad* which is a fixed form tied down by rigid rules, is a continuous process of new creation wherein the singer can give free rein to his imagination, the name '*khyāl*' in the sense of imagination seems most appropriate to this form. But apart from this appropriateness of the term there is no evidence to support this derivation either. A third derivation recently suggested by Śrī Chaitanya Desai is worth consideration. He derives the word '*khyāl*' from the Sanskrit word '*khela*' which in Modern Indo-Aryan languages means 'a dramatic performance'. The word '*khyāl* is

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a dialectal form of '*khela*' and in Rajasthani it means a performance of a folk play. From this Śrī Desai surmises that the *khyāl* was originally a stage song[17]. Now, although it is true that many *khyāl* compositions contain dramatic elements, there is no evidence that these compositions were ever sung in dramatic performances.

The last derivation, however, deserves a closer look. The adjective '*khela*' in Sanskrit means 'sportive, amorous, or playful' and the compound '*khelapada*' would mean 'a sportive step'. Now, the pace of the *dhrupad* being stately its step is firm while the pace of the *khyāl* being playful its step is sportive. Since the word '*dhrupad*' is a corruption of '*dhruvapada*' which names 'a firm step' the word '*khyāl* is likely to be a corruption of '*khelapada*' which means 'a sportive step'. Kalidasa in Vikramorvaśīya (Act IV sloka 16) has used the word '*khelapada*' to describe the gait of Urvaśī when he compares it with that of the swan. What better term could be used to describe the movement of the *khyāl*? The meaning 'amorous' also fits in with both the movement and the content of the *khyāl*. But of this, later.

(5) The last reason needs serious consideration as it is undeniable that most of the eminent *khyāl*-singers upto the end of the last century were Muslims. But this was because till about 1850 tradition did not consider the *khyāl* classical and Hindu musicians being more traditionalist kept away from it. In this connection it is worth noting that even Muslim singers who came from respectable families of musicians were mostly *dhrupadīya-s*. Even Niyamat Khan who is alleged to be the father of the *khyāl* and who composed innumerable *cheej-s* in the *khyāl*, did not sing them at concerts. He is reported to have taught *cheej-s* in the *khyāl*, to singing girls in the harem of Mohamad Shah, who sang for the pleasure of the Badshah. It was only after 1850 that the *khyāl* began to rise to the status of classical music and respectable Muslim musicians took to *khyāl*-singing. It is not accidental that all the prominent *gharāṇa-s* of *khyāliyā s* such as the Gwalior, Agra, Jaipur, Kiraṇa, Patiala and Indore came

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to be founded from about the third quarter of the last century and the founders were either *dhrupadiyā-s* or instrumentalists. It was only when the *khyāl* reached the status of classical music that Hindu singers took to this form of music and by about the first quarter of the present century began to make their own contribution to its development. It is, thus, true that Muslims were largely responsible for the development of the *khyāl*, but they were, certainly, not the originators of it. The *khyāl* was, as we have seen earlier, very prevalent and popular even before the advent of Muslim rule in India.

The grounds advanced so far to establish Muslim origin of the *khyāl* are entirely of the nature of circumstantial evidence. No one has as yet been able to trace convincingly any of the salient feature of the *khyāl* such as *rāga, svara, tāla, laya, ālāpa, tāna, astāyī, antarā*, etc. to either Persian or Arabic music. Even the very names of these are Indian. The *cheej-s* sung in the *khyāl* including even those composed by Muslim musicians, are mostly in Brajabhasha, unlike *gazal s*, and *kavvalī-s* which are in Persian and Urdu. What is more, Niyamat Khan of the 18th century, Mehboob Khan of the 19th century and Faiyaz Khan of the 20th century have assumed Indian noms de plume like Sadaranga, Darasapiya and Premapiya in *cheej*-s composed by them. The deities, the seasons, the life and the poetic conceits appearing in these compositions are entirely Indian. Capt. Willard has vividly brought out the Indianness of *cheej-s* in the *khyāl* by comparing them with Arabic and Persian love songs. We quote below from his '*Treatise on the Music of India* :

In Arabic poetry the man is invariably in love with the woman who is the object beloved. In Persia he is represented, contrary to the dictates of nature, as in love with his own sex. This is evident in all lyric poems of that country. Their pieces abound with the praises of the youthful cupbearer, the beauty of his green beard, and the comeliness of his mien. In India the fair sex are the first to woo, and the man yields after much courting. In compositions of this country, therefore, love and desire, hope and despair and in short every

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demonstration of the tender passion is first felt in the female bosom and evinced by her pathetic exclamations.

Hindu women are married at so tender an age, that it is indeed very seldom that they feel any influence of love till some years after marriage ; there are, therefore, consequently very few pieces to be found wherein a maiden (by which I mean an unmarried woman) is concerned.

It is customary in India for the parents and their sons, with their daughters-in-law, and maiden daughters, to live together, and in the event of the young men going abroad in quest of employment, to leave their wives behind. What induced them to do this in former times was the difficulties and dangers attendant on the roads, which rendered it impossible to perform a journey of any extent in company with females, who would not only be liable to the greatest abuse even immediately in the neighbourhood, but also to be torn from the arms of their husbands to grace the beds of any chieftain who might chance to take a fancy to them, or might be induced to do it through mere wantonness and caprice.

Let us figure to ourselves an amiable and fond woman in the bloom of her age, waiting for years in sighs for her absent and beloved husband, in whom are centered all her hopes of life—let us behold her at public festivals, where themes to which her heart is familiar are sung in the most pathetic language enforced by the charms of melody—let us accompany her to the riverside, which she daily visits to procure water for the use of the household, and where she witnesses a thousand tender interviews, let us turn our eyes to her domestic scenes, we see happier sisters-in-law adorning and ornamenting themselves, and sporting in all the gaiety natural to their age, and she striving to stifle her grief, and appear cheerful. Perhaps she hears news of her husband's intention shortly to return; she revives as the drooping flowers refreshed by sudden and timely rain. If this be in the winter, she laments his absence during the long cold nights of that season, and calls him cruel for not having thought of home earlier. Winter past,

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she trembles at the idea of the scorching rays of the sun, which will assail him on his journey. But when the rains set in, those months which are the most delightful of all in India to those whose hearts are not afflicted by separation, then it is that she feels her existence insupportable. Cheering hope, which beguiled her during the former seasons, no longer affords its balmy aid, and she despairs of his arrival this year. Every cloud, every flash of lightning sends forth a dart to her tender bosom, and every drop of rain adds fresh poignancy to the wound in her agonized heart. If she endeavours by domestic toils to wean her thoughts for a moment from her absent lover, the koel, and particularly the papiha, reminds her of him by the constant and reiterated interrogations of *Pi-kahan—Pi-kahan* ?

These, however, are not the only birds which are addresscd by the females of India, by the title of *Bairi* or enemy; the peacock, the chatak, and several others are said to add to their affliction, and remind them of their absent lovers. Superstition lends her aid to afflict or comfort them, by attaching importance to the throbbing of the eyes or pulsations of the limbs.

The husband remaining absent from home for several years together, his wife, if she had been married very young, when she attains the years of maturity, begins to feel the power of love, and readily finds a youth on whom she fixes her affections having perhaps little more knowledge of her husband than from hearsay. In such a state of things, the lover can seldom be stealthily admitted at home on account of the smallness of the house, and the number of watchful relatives. She sees herself, therefore, reduced to the necessity of visiting him at his, to effect which, it requires a great deal of circumspection and evasive art. The female sex being generally more fond, affords a fertile source of dread from the influence of rivals. It is undeniable that such practices are immoral; but such is the fact and nature, unrestrained by education, (and the women of India are particularly ignorant of all knowledge, but the art of pleasing), will positively have its headlong course.

[We must add here that is was not always the illicit love that young women found difficult to consummate. Mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law were often unhappy even at the growing love

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between their sons or brothers and their young wives, whom they considered outsiders.]

The tenor of Indian love-ditties, therefore, generally is one or more of the following themes [examples and translations are ours.]

1. Beseeching the lover to be propitious :

   Rāga : Kāphī; Tāla : Khemaṭā

   Bol more rājā re nainu aba mose bol/

   Cāhe piyā dina/

   Cāhe piyā raina/

   Dilaki baten bol/(Dhru.)

   Kabase main ṭhāḍi, rahā takata hun/

   Kabase main ṭhāḍī, tope araja karata/

   Mukhase miṭhe bol/

   [Speak, my sweet Prince, speak to me now. Be it day, darling; Be it night, darling. Open your heart to me. How long have I been on my feet waiting for you! How long have I been on my feet entreating you ! Speak sweet words to me].

2. Lamentations for the absence of the object beloved :

   Rāga : Aḍaṇā; Tāla : Tritāla

   Bīte jugasī raina piyā bina/

   Ghadi pala laya china nahin caina mana/ (Dhru.)

   Tarasata jiyarā takat rāha nita/

   Kāri main karūm rasiyāke āvana

   [In the absence of my lover night seems an age. Every hour, minute, second, instant my mind is restless. My heart is tormented being on tenterhooks waiting for him, every moment. What shall I do to hasten his coming ?]

3. Imprecating of rivals :

   Rāga : Kāphī ; Tāla : Jhapatāla

   Sautanake sanga lāga re teri acchhī banegī/ (Dhru.)

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Haunsanakī gata haunsahi jāne/
Koi na jāne kāga re/

[Go and dally with my rival. I will be blessed if she makes you happy. Only a swan can know the agony of his mate in separation ; never a crow.]

4. Complaints of inability to meet the lover from the watchfulness of the mother and sister-in-law, and the tinklings of little bells worn as ornaments round the waist and ankles, called, payal, bichhua etc.

Rāga : Puriyā Dhanāśrī ; Tāla : Tritāla

Pāyaliyā jhankāra morī/
Jhanana jhanana bāje jhanakārī/ (Dhru.)
Piyā samajhāun samajhata nāhīn/
Sāsa nanada morī degi gāri/

(How my anklets tinkle ! Jhanana jhanana sounds the tinkle. I try to explain to my lover but he refuses to understand. My mother-in-law and sister-in-law will heap abuses on me.)

5. Fretting, and making use of invectives against the mother and sister-in-law, as being obstacles in the way of her love :

Rāga : Māravā : Tāla ; Jhumarā

Nanadiyā cavāvana morī re/
Saba gharaghara cavāva karata phirata rahata nita jhūta sanca/ (Dhru.)
Kāhūke lagāye bujhāye kāhā hota hai, Māī, sāncako kāhān āṇca/

(My sister-in-law is a great gossip-monger. She goes from house to hose forever gossiping-mixing falsehood with truth. How can I go about clearing myself ? O Mother, does truth prevail ?)

6. Exclamation to female friends termed śakhiś, and supplicating their assistance :

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Rāga : Bāgeśrī; Tāla : Jhapatāla

Arī yerī sakhī balahāri tumariyā, calake batāya mujhe piyākī nagariyā/ (Dhru.)

Piyābina mujhako caina nahīn āve, ghara kāma kāja mujhe kachunā suhāve/

[O my dearest friend, guide me to my lover's place. Without him I am restless, without him I cannot endure home, without him I cannot engage myself in any work.]

7. Sakhīs reminding their friends of the appointment made and exhorting them to persevere in their love :

Rāga : Gaudamalhār ; Tāla : Tritāla.

Māna na kare rī gorī, teḍe kāraṇa āyo mehā/(Dhru). Harihari bhūmape barasohī cāhe nai nāra e nayo nehā/

[Give up your pride, O fair one, The cloud has come for you. The cloud is raining on fresh green earth making new love to a new beloved.][18]

We have so far tried to establish the total indigenousness of all the prominent features of the *Khyāl*. We do not, however, wish to be little in any way the rich contribution made by Muslim singers to the development of the *khyāl*. Muslim singers from Amir Khusro of the 14th century to Amir Khan of the recent times have infused ever new vitality into this form and added ever new embellishments to it to make it more and more responsive and attractive to its admirers. Pandit Bhatkhaṇḍe says, 'A Hindu singer, however, brilliant he might be, is invariably relegated to the rank of a temple-singer (Haridās-a) if he cannot claim to be disciple of a Muslim master directly or through his ancestors.[19] There cannot be a greater recognition of or a richer tribute to Muslim musicians than is implied in this observation.

Now, place beside Pandit Bhatkhande's observation quoted above one made by Prof. B.R. Deodhar. He says that all the Muslim singers of the last generation, of whom he enquired traced their ancestry to Haridasa Swami (the master of Tansen directly or though his disciples.[20] Many instances of such

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claims could be cited. The founders of Agra, Jaipur and Kirana *ghārnā-s* viz. Ghagge Khudabakṣa, Naththan Khan, Alladiya Khan and Abdul Karim Khan, all trace their ancestry to brahmin dhrupadiyā-s of the 15th century and the number of families being limited they could easily be descendants of Haridas Swami or his disciples. Some of these Muslim musicians of the last generation even observed the brahmanical customs and wore the sacred thread. Prof. Deodhar narrates an interesting experience of his in this connection. He writes :

I met Allauddin Khan, the renowned sarod-maestro, for the first time at the Allahabad music Conference in 1936. During the days of the conference, one morning while I was taking a stroll, I saw a brahmin with a loose piece of cloth on his shoulder coming towards me. I did not pay much attention to him till he came nearer and I suddenly realized that it was Allauddin Khan himself, to whom I was recently introduced. I asked where he was going on such a cold morning, to which he replied, 'To-day is the eleventh day of the lunar month (ekādasi) and luckily being so near the Ganges, I am going for a holy dip in the river. I felt ashamed that, in spite of being a brahmin myself, it did not occur to me to take a dip in the Ganges nor was I even aware that it was an ekādaśī day.

In the evening, when I met him at the conference, he told me that his ancestors were Vaiṣṇava brahmins and though he belonged to the 9th generation after conversion his family observed all the brahmanical customs including strict vegetarianism.[21]

These observations show how irrational it is to designate any music—particularly secular music—by the religion of the persons who perform it. The *khyāl* unlike the *dhrupad*, is totally secular as is clear from the themes in *khyāl* compositions cited above. The *khyāl* is not performed either in temples or in mosques. We have seen how Namdev and Madhvamunīsvar protested against its incursion into temple-music and music as such is anathema to Muslim orthodoxy. Both Muslim and Hindu musicians developed the *khyāl* in the teeth of this opposition and it was the Muslim musicians who led this movement.

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When the Muslims conquered North India, Hindu court-musicians found themselves in a critical situation. They had to choose between their religion and their profession. If they chose to keep their religion they would have had to give up court patronage and consequently music. They chose to give up their religion and embraced Islam, but only outwardly, practising all the while their original faith privately as did Allauddin Khan and his ancestor . This sacrifice of theirs proved a boon to Hindustani music which, freed from the shackles of religion, became secular and more charming. This change in the complexion of music owing to conversion of Hindu musicians to Islam is clearly felt even now, if we compare performances of the *khyāl* by Muslim and Hindu musicians. The performance of the Muslim musician is free and exuberant, while that of the Hindu is rigid and inhibited. The Muslim musician addresses his music to the audience and involves him in the performance, while the Hindu addresses his music to God or the Deity of music and prays for his blessings The Muslim musician seeks applause from the audience, while the Hindu seeks approval of the connoisseur. Most of the Hindu classical singers are brahmins brought up in the tradition of Haridasas and hence their performance smells of camphor and aloe. The Hindu musician usually concludes his performance with a devotional song, while the Muslim does it with a *thumrī* or a *gazal.*

Having examined and rejected the contention that the *khyāl* is of Muslim origin, let us now turn our attention to the *prabandh* and *dhrupad.*

We are told by Śrī Deshpande and other historians of Hiudustani music that till Raja Maan invented the *dhrupad* the classical form of Indian music was the *prabandh.* We are familiar with the dhrupad form as it is still not extinct but about the *prabandh* we know precious little. Let us, therefore, try to find out what ancient books on Indian musicology have to say about the *prabandh.*

The word 'prabandha' comes from the root $\sqrt{\text{pra}+\text{bandh}}$ which means 'to tie down firmly'. '*Prabandh*', therefore,means

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'a firm tie' and is used in literary parlance to mean a composition. It is also used to signify the metre as in '*śloka-prabandha*' or 'ovi *prabandha*' 'and the form of literature as in '*kāvya-prabandha*' or '*gita-prabandha*' for example, Jayadeva's '*Gita-Govinda*' is a *kāvya-prabandha* consisting of *sloka-prabandha-s* & *gita-parbandha-s*. In musical parlance *prabandha* would mean a '*gāyana-prabandha*' which strictly observes rigid rules laid down by musicologists. Now, there are many *gīta-prabandha-s* but only a few of them are permitted in a *gāyana-prabandha*. '*Manasollasa*' (1129) of Someśvara mentions nine *gīta-prabandha-s* which should be excluded from the repertoire of a classical concert. Someśvara says :

Tripadī,ṣaṭpadi caiva dhavalo, mangalastathā /
Ovī ca carcarī, caryā, rāhadī, dantikā tathā //
Ete sūḍeṣu no geyāḥ parbandhā laukikā matāḥ /[22]

[Tripadī, ṣatpadī, dhavala, mangala, ovi, carcarī, caryā,rāhaḍī and dantikā are not to be included in a repertoire (sūḍa) of songs to be sung in a classical concert as these are sung by the populace.]

He further mentions the persons who sing these '*laukika prabandhas*' and the occasions on which they are sung. The *prabandha* is defined as follows :

Caturbhirdhātubhiḥ ṣaḍbhiscāngairyasmāt prabadhyate/
Tasmāt prabandhaḥ kathito gītalakṣaṇkovidaiḥ //[23]

['Prabandha' is so named by musicologists because it is firmly tied by four *dhātus* and six *angas*]

Dhātus are the four parts of the poetic composition and *angas* are the components of the musical form.

The four *dhātus* of a *prabandha* are (1) *udgrāha*, (2) *melāpa*, (3) *dhruva* and (4) *ābhoga*. They are defined as follows :

Nibaddhasyādimo bhāga udgrāha iti kīrtitaḥ /
Ādāvudgrhyate yena soyam udgrāhasaṁjñakaḥ //
Dvitīyabhāgo melāpa udgrāhadhruvamelanāt /
Dhruvatvāddhruvasaṁjñastu tṛtīyo bhāga ucyate //

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Ābhogastvantimo bhāgo gītapurṇaṭvasucakaḥ /[24]

[The first part of nibaṇdha (tied) music called '*udgrāha* ''because it lifts it up. The second part is called '*melāpa* 'because it joins *udgrāha* with *dhruva*. The third part is called '*dhruva*' because it is fixed. The fourth and the last part is called '*ābhoga*' because it shows completion of the song].

The root $\sqrt{\text{ud} + \text{grah}}$ means to take off. Vocal music begins with ālāpa which is called *anibaddha* (free) music since it does not contain any words and is not set to any *tāla*. It is like the ground-run after which *nibadda* music takes off with the first couplet of a *prabandha*. The first couplet of a *prabandha* is, therefore, called *udgrāha*. *Melāpa* is that which joins. The end of the *udgrāha* rhymes with that of the *dhruva* and hence it is called *melāpa*. *Dhruva* means the polar star round which all the constellations move. In *prabandha*, *dhruva* is the burden of the song round which all the other couplets move. *Ābhoga* means completion. The last part concludes the music and hence it is called *ābhoga*. *Ābhoga* is also defined as that part which contains the name of the composer (yatraiva kavināma syāt sa ābhogaḥ).[25]

Some musicologists mention *antarā* as one of the parts of a *prabandha*. *Antarā* is defined as follows :

Dhruvābhogāntaṛe jāto dhāturanyontarābhidhaḥ[26]

[There is one more *dhātu* called *antarā* which comes between *dhruva* and *ābhoga*.]

Thus *prabandha* has five parts. But musicologists usually drop *melāpa* and consider *udgrāha*, *dhruva*, *antarā* and *ābhoga* as the four parts of a *prabandha*. Jayadeva's *prabandha* in 'Gīta-Govinda' are excellent examples of a complete *prabandha*. We cite one of them below ;

Udgrāha :

Vahati malayasamīre madanamupanidhāya /
Spuṭati kusumanikare virahihṛdayadalanāya //

Dhruva :

Ṭava virahe vanamāli sakhi, sīdati //

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Antarā :

Dahati śiśiramayūkhe maraṇamanukaroti /
Patati madanaviśikhe vilapati vikalataroti //

Dhvanati madhupasamūhe śravaṇamapidhāti /
Manasi kalitavirahe niśī niśi rujamupayāti //

Vasati vipinavitāne tyajati lalitadhāma /
Luṭhati dharaṇiśayane bahu vilapati tava nāma /

Ābhoga :

Bhaṇati kavi Jayadeve virahavilasitena /
Manasi rabhasavibhave Harirudayatu sukṛtena /

(Gita Govinda, V-10)

Udgrāha :

When the breeze blows from the Southern Mountains and brings the love-god with it /
When masses of flowers burst forth to rend the hearts of parted lovers //

Dhruva :

He, decked with forest garland is grieved at separation from you //

Antarā :

Even the cool-rayed moon inflames him, he is almost dead /
struck by the arrows of love he complains most miserably //

When the swarm of bees murmurs, he closes fast his ears /
His heart is clenched by parting, he spends his nights in fever //

He leaves his lovely home and dwells in the depths of the forest //

He tosses himself in sleep on the earth and often murmurs your name //

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Ābhoga :

When the poet Jayadeva sings of the deeds of the parted lover /
May, through your pious deeds, Hari arise in your heart which is full of zeal //

This *prabandha* of Jayadeva contains five couplets besides *dhruva*—one each in *udgrāha* and *ābhoga* and three in *antarā*. Most of his *prabandha-s* in Gīta-Govindā contain besides a *dhruva*, eight couplets, one each in *udgrāha* and ābhoga and six in *antarā*, and hence they are called aṣṭapadis. Shorter *prabandha-s* consist of a *dhruva* and *three couplets*—one each of *udgrāha*, *antarā* and *ābhoga*. *Abhangas* of saint-poets of Maharashtra are good examples of these. We cite one of Jñānadeva below :

Udgrāha :

Rupa pāhata locanī /
Sukha jāle vo sājaṇī //

Dhruvā :

To hā Viṭṭhala baravā /
To hā Madhava baravā //

Āntarā :

Bahuta sukṛtācī joḍi /
Mhaṇunī Viṭṭhalī āvaḍī //

Ābhoga :

Sarva sukhāce āgara /
Bāpa Rakhumādevīvara //[27]

Udgrāha :

When my eyes rest on the image,
Happiness overcomes me O friend.

Dhruva :

He is the handsome Viṭṭhala,
He is the handsome Mādhava.

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Antarā :

By the many good deeds of my past lives
I have deserved this infatuation with Viṭṭhala.

Ābhoga :

The treasure of all happiness,
Father, the lord of Rukhmiṇīdevī.

Bāpa Rukhumādevīvara which means one whose father is the Lord of Rukhmiṇīdevī is the *nomdeplume* of Jñānadeva.

The order in which these parts are sung is as follows :

Udgrāham parthamam gītva dhruvam gāyet tataḥ param /
Tatontarā dhruvastasmādābhogadhruvakau tataḥ//[28]

[*Udgrāha & dhruva, antarā & dhruva* and *ābhoga & dhruva* is the order in which a *prabandha* is to be sung.]

Both the prabandhas cited above contain all the four parts. '*Sangīta Ratnākara*' says —

Sa dvidhatustridhatusca caturdhaturiti tridha[29]

[It is of three types—with two, three or four *dhātus.*]

A *prabandha* with all the four parts is called *caturdhātu*, with three parts viz. *udgrāha, dhruva* and *ābhoga* is called *tridhātu* and with only two *dhatus* viz. *udgrāha* and *dhruva* is called *dvidhātu prabandha Udgrāha* and *dhruva* were considered indispensable.

It seems, however that songs of the bhakti-school, particularly of the madhurā-bhakti school dispense with *udgrāha* and begin straight with *dhruva*. These are usually *tridhātu* compositions with *dhruva, antarā* and *ābhoga* and sometimes even *dvidhātu* with *dhruva* and *ābhoga*, e.g. the following song of Mira.

Māī maiṁ Govinda līno mola : /
Koi kahai sasto, koi kahai mahagoṁ liyo tarājū tola //

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Koi kahai ghara-meṁ, koi kahai bana-meṁ Radha sanga kilola /

Mīrā-ke prabhu Giradhara nāgara, āvata perma-ke bola //

[I have paid the price and bought Govinda, O mother ! Some say 'cheap', some say 'dear' but I have weighed him well. Some say at home, some say in the forest, he is dallying with Radha. Girdhar, the elite, is Mira's Lord and hence these words of endearment.]

The two *dhātus* in this composition are the *dhruva* and *ābhoga. Dhrupada* and *khyāl* compositions also have two *dhātus* but instead of the *dhruva* and *ābhoga* they are called the *astāyi* and *antarā.*

A *caturdhātu prabandha* contains a minimum of four couplets, i,e., eight lines, Such a lengthy and word-bound composition leaves very restricted scope for musical embellishments. It is natural. therefore, that singers more interested in music than in the poetic theme left the first and the last *dhātus* and sang only the *dhruva* and *antarā.* These, later on, came to be called the *astāyī* and *antarā.* '*Astāyī*' is a corrupt form of '*sthāyī*' which is synonymous with '*dhruva*', When it was realized that *dvidhātu prabandha-s* were best suited for both the *dhrupad* and *khyāl* forms, *parbandha-s* came to be composed with only the *dhrupada* and ābhoga as exemplified above. The second part which contains the name of the composer and concludes the composition is by definition an *ābhoga,* but the term *antarā* seems to have stuck. Any way all these compositions are *prabandha-s* and were known by that term till about the first quarter of this century.

From the above characteristics of the *prabandha* it is clear that the *dhruva* was considered an important and indispensable part of a *prabandha.* 'Sangīta Ratnākara' mentions a type of *prabanda* called *dhruvaprabandha.* It enumerates its sixteen varieties and mentions the *rasa-s* and *tāla-s* associated with them. The names of these varieties are *Jayanta, Sekhara, Utsāha, Madhura, Nirmala, Kuntala, Kamala, Cāra, Nandana,*

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Candarašekhara, *Kāmoda*, *Vijaya*. *Kandarpa*, *Jayamangala*, *Tilaka* and *Lalita*.[30] It is Interesting to note that many of these are now names of *raga-s*, which makes us suspect that this *dhruvaprabandha* formed a star item in the repertoire of a classical recital. Could this be an earlier stage in the evolution of the *dhrupad* form ?

After having explained the four *dhatu-s*, i.e., the four parts of the poetic composition, let us now turn our attention to the six *anga-s* i.e., the six components of the musical composition of the *prabandha*, which are as follows :

> Prabandhāngāni ṣaṭ tasya svaraśca birudaṁ padam /
> Tenakāḥ pātatālau ca prabandhapuruṣasya te //[31]
>
> [The six limbs of the *prabandha* are *tena*, *pada* *biruda*, *pāṭa*, *tāla*, and *svara*.]

Tena is the '*nom-tom*', i.e., *ālāp* with which singing begins. *Pada* means the words of the poetic composition. *Biruda* means the praise which is the theme of the poetic composition. *Pāṭa* means the bols, i.e., the syllables of an instrument recited to the accompaniment of the instrument. *Tāla* means the rhythmic pattern of a musical composition and *svara* means its melody-pattern.

Of these six *anga-s*, *biruda* and *pāṭa* need further elucidation.

Compositions sung in the *prabandha* were songs of praise—praise of a deity, or of a king who was looked upon as the lord of the earth, or of music which was considered a celestial art. *Prabandha* addressed to a deity were usually strings of different names by which the deity was known. These were called '*nāmāvalī-prabandha*'. There is a reference to such compositions in '*Jñāneśvarī*' the famous Marathi commentary on *Gita* written in 1290.[32] One such *prabandha* sung in the *dhrupad* form is as follows :

Astāyī

> Parabrahma, Parameśvara, Paramātmā Paramapuruṣa / Nandanandana, Ānandakanda, Jasodānanda, Śrī Govinda //

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Antarā

Dīnānātha, Dukhabhañjana, Padmanābha, Jagavandana /
Vāsudeva, Banavārī, Jagatpati, Prabhu, Nandanandana. //

Prabandha-s addressed to a king contained praise of his exploits. There is a reference to Tansen in '*Virabhānūdaya*' composed around 1555. It says—

Śrī Rāmacāritrasudhābhiṣiktā yasya dhrupajjīvati sarvakālam.[33]

[(Tansen) whose *dhrupad* compositions sprinkled with the nectar of the exploits of King Ramacandra lives for ever.]

Śrī Rama was the ruler of Reva and the first patron of Tansen. It seems Tansen himself used to compose the *dhrupad-s* which he sang. It is quite natural that a patron should expect a fresh composition every day, since it contained his own praise. Tansen is reputed to have composed thousands of such compositions, but, being ephemeral by nature, they have not survived in spite of the assurance of the author of '*Virabhānūdaya.*' A *dhrupad* addressed to Aurangzeb and now sung in the *khyāl* form would give an idea about such compositions. It ts as follows :

Astāyī

Dhana, dhəna tu Delhipata, Chatrapata,
Bakhatabalī Aurangjeb Jalālodīna //

Antarā

Jasabalī, Tejabalī, Dānabalī, Dharmabalī /
Aiso bidhātā banāya kīno //

Although *biruda-s* in praise of kings have become extinct those in praise of deities such as Shiv and Krishna and of music are still sung in the *khyāl* form.

In *pāṭa* the usual *bol-s* recited to the accompaniment of an instrument are sa, re, ga, ma,...of wind instruments

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(and the human voice) ; dhā, dhik, dhin,...of percussion instruments: and dā did, dā of string instrumcnts. Of these '*saragam*' i.e.. *pāṭa* of a wind instrument is sometimes recited in the *khyāl* form. There is a type of *khyāl* performance : lled the *caturang prabandh* which consists of 1) *khyāl*, 2) *saragam*, 3) trivaṭ and 4) *tarānā*. Musicologists consider this a recent innovation. But from the six *anga-s* of the *prabandha* mentioned above it is clear that 1) *ālāp* or *nom-tom*, 2) *prabandha* composition, 3) *saragam*, i.e., *pāṭa* of the wind instrument and 4) *trivaṭ* i.e. *pāṭa* of the percussion instrument were parts of a *prabandha* performance. The only difference between these two performances seems to be the replacement of the *ālāp* by the *tarānā*. Now, *ālāp* and *tarānā* are alike in many respects, the only difference being 1) the *ālāp* precedes while the *tarānā* succeeds the main composition and 2) the *ālāp* is performed in *vilambit laya* and as such it is not set to any *tāla* pattern while the *tarānā* is performed in *drut laya* and is set to a *tāla* pattern. From this it is clear that the present *caturang prabandha* is not a new form but has evolved from the older *prabandha*. Dasopant (1551-1615), a Marathi poet, used to compose a prabandha a day, some of which have been published. Among them there is a *caturang prabandha*.[34]

Let us revert to the *dhruva*. Why was it considered an important and indispensable *dhātu* of a *prabandh* ? We are told that it was repeated at the conclusion of each of the three remaining *dhātu-s*. What purpose did this repetition serve ?

Singing was originally a community performance. This communal participation was later on restricted to a single couplet which was repeated at the end of each individual stanza. The *dhruva*, it seems, served as the refrain of the *prabandha*. Even now when an *arati* or a *bhajan* is recited in a temple the *dhruva* is recited by the chorus while the other parts are recited by the main singer. In a *prabandha* recital this chorus was further limited to the couple of disciples who sat behind their teacher, the main artiste, with tānpura-s. Narendra, a Marathi poet belonging to the early 14th century, has in his '*Rukhmiṇi Svayamvara*' described a musical recital

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in the court of Bhimaka, the father of Rukmini. After the artiste named Kinnara, had sung the main part of the composition, his disciples, standing behind him, took up the *dhrupad*, while Kinnara executed *ālāp*. Narendra has vividly rendered this aural experience by transforming it into a colourful visual image. He says :

> Pāṁtā sapota ākāsīṁ /
> Kuṁkumācī vāvaḍī velhāve jaisī /
> Kinnaru āḷatī karitāya taisī /
> Magilā dhurāvarī //[35]
>
> [Like a saffron-coloured kite swaying in the blue sky, Kinnara executed *ālāp* against the background of the *dhruva* sung by his disciples]

Since a *dhrupad* composition has no separate part called the *dhruva*, disciple participation was restricted to the recital of the first few syllables of the *astāyī*, which are known as the '*mukhaḍā*'. In this connection it is worth noting that the *sama* in the *dhrupad* is usually on the first *mātrā* and not on the fifth or sixth *mātrā* as in the *khyāl* This is because in the *dhrupad* it was the disciples who recited the *mukhaḍā* while in the *khyāl* it is recited by the artist himself. The applause (*dād*), which an artist receives when he comes to the *sama*, is a relic of the audience-participation which was slowly reduced from community singing to the recital of *mukhaḍā* by the disciples.

It should be clear by now that the present *dhrupad* is a shortened form of the *prabandh*. Pandit Krishnadhan Bandopadhyay (1846-1904) has written in Bengali an excellent treatise on Hindustani music entitled '*Gītasutrasāra*' (1885) in which he has included the *prabandha* under the head '*Dhrupad*'. Since the *dhrupad* was the dominant form of music in North India and particularly in the Bengal of his time, his observations deserve to be considered authentic. He writes :

> The three forms of Hindustani music prevalent in cultured society are the *dhrupad*, the *khyāl* and the *ṭappā*.
>
> *Prabandha* and *horī* come under '*Dhrupad*' ; *trivaṭ*, *caturang*, *gulnākṣ* and *kaul-kalbānā* come under '*khyāl*' ;

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tilānā or *tarānā, jugalband* and *rāgamālā* come under both ; *thumrī, gazal, khemṭā*, etc. come under *Ṭappā*.

Of these three forms the *dhrupad* is by far the most ancient. It was performed and cultivated even before the advent of the Muslim rule in India. At the time of Islam's entry into India it was perhaps the *dhrupad* that was practised in the higher strata of the Hindu society in North-Western India. The *dhrupad* is a longish composition which is div ded into four parts. In musical parlance these parts are called *tuk-s*. Each *tuk* has its distinct nomenclature viz. *astāyī, antarā, sancārī* and *ābhoga*, the characterstics of these have been already discussed. Each *tuk* is adequate for four rounds of a *tāla*. But at times performers, in utter disregard of the rules laid down, present a *tuk* in three five or even seven rounds of *tāla*. Such lapses are probably due to the lack of recorded notations. When masters forget the original composition they wantonly deform it. In the case of many *dhrupad-s* only two *tuk-s* are now available. This is either due to lapse of memory or faulty instruction. *Tāla-s* which can be executed on *pakhwāj* viz. *cautāl, dhamār, sūrphānk, jhampā, tivrā, āḍā, cautāl, rūpak, dhīmā, tintāl, savāri* are the only *tāla-s* used in presenting a*dhrupad*.[36]

Here we should record our dissent. We do not think that the reduction in the number of *tuk-s* and variation in the number of rounds of a *tāla* are entirely due to lack of notational scores or lapse of memory. Both could be deliberate. A recital of a composition nearly divided into four parts and mechanical presentation of each part in exactly four rounds of a *tāla* would certainly bore an audience. This would be particularly so in a *dhrupad* recital where flourishes and embellishments are forbidden. Creative artists are likely to have deliberately deviated from the rigidity of the form to make a *dhrupad* recital more pleasing.

Let us now turn to the relationship between the *dhrupad* and the *khyāl*. Pandit Bandopadhyay writes :

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In former times the *khyāl* was not presented to a cultured audience; reputed artistes used to sing only *dhrupad-s*. Later when the *khyāl* was first introduced [in musical concerts] *dhrupadiyā-s*, probably derisively, called this innovatton '*khyāl*' or 'sweet will' and the epithet seems to have stuck since then. A *khyāl* composition is shorter than a *dhrupad* and hence each of its *tuk* can do with less than four rounds of a *talā* and it usually contains not more than two *tuk-s* viz. *astāyi* and *antarā*. Occasionally it contains three or four *tuk-s* also, but then their *svara-s* are all on the pattern of *antarā*...If each *tuk* is fully developed to the extent of four rounds of a *tāla* a *khyāl* would no doubt gain in expanse and assume the form of a *dhrupad*. But even then the difference between the two would be manifest in the *tāla*. *Kawālī*. *ādā*, *madhyamun*, *ektāl*, *tevaṭ* and *jat* are the *tāla-s* to which the *khyāl* is usually set. But when the *astāyi* of a *khyāl* is built up in a slow tempo using at the same time all the four rounds of a *tāla* it becomes difficult to distinguish it from a *dhrupad* in as much as these very *tāla-s* in a slow tempo are used in the *dhrupad*. Played in a slow tempo *ektāl* becomes *cautāl*, *jat* becomes *dhamar* and *tīvrā*, *tevaṭ* becomes *rūpak* and *adā cautāl*, *kawalī* becomes *dhīmā tīntāl*... *Surphānk*, *tivarā* and *savārī* are not used in the *khyāl* while *aḍā* and *madhyaman* are absent in the *dhrupad*. Al though the *khyāl* and the *dhrupad* are thus close to each other as far as *tāla* is concerned, petty *tāna-s*, *jitkaḍī* [etc.] are not executed in the *dhrupad* as they are in the *khyāl* and *gamak-s* peculiar the *dhrupad* are absent in the *khyāl*. This mutual exclusiveness brings out the difference between the two but some *rāgiṇi-s* like *bhairavī*, *khāmboj* and *sindhu* sung in the *dhrupad* and *ṭappā* are not sung in the *khyāl*.....Devotional songs use both these forms but the *dhrupad* being of steady pace and serious nature is certainly more in keeping with the devotional mood.[37]

It must be noted here that the *khyāl* Pandit Bandopadhyay

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has written about is the *khyāl* as it was performed a hundred years ago. It has changed a good deal since then. How close that *khyāl* was to the *dhrupad* is succintly brought out in the following incident in the career of Haddu Khan (?-c. 1876), the noted *khyāl*-singer of the last century, narrated by L.D. Joshi.

> Once he gave a performance in Calcutta. Since his reputation had spread far and wide a big audience had gathered. He began with *khyāl-s* in a slow tempo. The audience had cultivated a taste for *dhrupad-s* only. When it heard *tāna-s* suited only to a *khyāl* it began to melt away and the concert proved to be a big failure. Main Haddu Khan was crestfallen. But the next day his friend went to him and said, 'Mianji, don't be disheartened. These people are not accustomed to the *khyāl* and hence they could not appreciate your performance. You should sing a *khyāl* set to *ektāl* in a slow tempo as a *dhrupad*, executing only the *gamak-tāna-s* and people will respond favourably.' Main Haddu Khan abided by this advice and was lavishly applauded the next day. He was then invited to give a number of performances in Calcutta [38]

It was not in the 19th century alone that the *khyāl* was considered a low form of music. We have already seen that Madhvamunīśvar (17th-18th century) and Namdev (13th century) had disparaged it. And yet it was prevalent for well over six centuries and was so very popular as to have entered even the *kīrtan*. Who then sang it and where? And what is more to the point why, in spite of its popularity, was it considered low?

We have seen earlier that Madhavmunīśvar brackets it with *ṭappā* and Shaligram says that in Poona during the 18th century singing girls used to sing both. We find that compositions in the *khyāl* as in the *ṭappā* and *ṭhumrī* mostly express the feelings of women in love. Capt. Willard says that 'the style [of the *dhrupad*] is very masculine' and 'in the *khyāl* the subject is a love tale and the proper person suppposed to utter it, a female'. Niyamat Khan who composed innumerable compositions in the form is supposed to have taugth them to

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the women in the harem of the Badshah ; he never sang them himself. Alladiyakhan who taught *dhrupad-s* to Bhaskarbuwa Bakhle is reported to have taught the same in the *khyāl* form to Kesarbai Kerkar. The *khyāl*, being thus a feminine form was mostly sung by singing girls along with *ṭappā* and *ṭhumrī* in music-halls called 'kothīs' and this might be the reason why it was considered disreputable. We know that only a few decades ago, even when the *khyāl* had risen to the status of classical music, the *ṭappā* and *ṭhumrī* were considered fit to be sung by female singers only; masters would not teach these forms to their male disciples.

When we call the *khyāl* a feminine form we do not have in mind the preset *khyāl*. The present *khyāl* is a highly developed form. In presenting it the artiste usually disregards the words of the composition. Instead of developing the theme of the song, as is done in a *ṭhumrī*, he exploits its musical potentialities. Words are very rarely heard and mean nothing. They are treated merely as springboards from which *svara-s* take off, rise in the air, execute somersaults and dive. The *khyāl* sung by female singers must have been more akin to the present *ṭhumrī*. Sanskrit books on musicology do not mention either of these forms. But '*Sangīṭa Damodāra*' (15th century) mentions a composition called *jhumari* which it defines as follows :

> Prāyaḥ śṛingārabahutā mādhvīkamadhurā mṛduḥ /
> Ekaiva jhumarirloke varṇādiniyamoñjhitā //[39]
>
> [There is only one composition in the world viz. *jhumari* which is mostly full of erotic love, sweet as mahuva wine, soft and free from the rules regarding syllables or metrics].

Is this not an apt definition of the *ṭhumrī*? The word '*ṭhumrī*' is derived by many from the Hindi root √*ṭhum* which means 'to walk in sprightly and rhythmic step'. But from the above definition of *jhumari* it seems clear that the word 'ṭhumri' is a corrupt form of 'jhumari' which could be derived from the Hindi root √'jhum' which means to 'walk intoxicatedly'. Hindi dictionaries further clarify that this intoxication could be due to vivacity, happiness or wine. It is interesting to note that the

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names of all the major four forms of Hindustani music viz. *dhrupad* (a firm step), *khyāl*<*khelāpada* (a sportive step), *ṭappā* (a bouncing step) and *ṭhumrī*<*jhumari* (an intoxicated step) signify the gait or movement of the respective form.

The word 'sangīta' comes from the root√*sangai* (to sing together) and hence it means either 'choral music' or 'vocal music accompanied by instrumental music and dance'. The latter is the most accepted meaning. It is likely that all the above four forms were originally dance forms, of which the first i.e. the *dhrupad* was a masculine dance (*tāndava*) and the remaining three i e. the *khyāl*, *ṭappā* and *ṭhumrī* were feminine dances (*lāsya*). '*Songīta Damodara*' defines *sangitaka* as follows :

> Talavādyānugam gītam naṭībhiryattu gīyate
> Nṛtyasyānugatam range tat sangītakamucyate[40]
>
> (*Sangītaka* is a song presented on the stage by a female dancer to the accompaniment of rhythm-instruments and dance)

Kalhaṇa in '*Rājatarangiṇī*' 12th Century) has extensively described a *ḍombikā* performance presented in this manner[41]. There must have been many such forms of music which in course of time have shed the dance component of their performance. *Ādā* in *ṭhumrī* is a remnant of the dance which accompanied it earlier.

Although we have classified vocal music into masculine and feminine forms, there have been instances of males singing in feminine style. Pyaresaheb of the last generation and Kamalsing of the present are notable examples. In a scene in 'Mṛcchakatika' by Śūdraka (C. 1st century) Cārudatta and Vidūṣaka are seen returning from a musical concert. While Vidūṣaka ridicules the feminine voice of the artist Rebhila, Cārudatta is ecstatic over his performance. He calls it 'impassioned, sweet, soft, charming, emotional, graceful and ultimately sums up his appreciation by saying that 'surely there must be a female hidden in him.' (Act III, ŚL. 4)

Sanskrit books on musicology have made a different classification. They divide music into two categories viz. *mārga*

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(classical) and *deśī* (regional or light). These are defined in '*Sangīta Ratnākara*' as follows :

Mārgo deśīti tad ḍved'-ā tatra margaḥ sa ucyate /
Yo mārgito Virincyādyaiḥ prayukto Bharatādibhiḥ //
Devasya puratah Śambhorniyatābhyudayapradaḥ /
Deśe deśe janānām yadrucyā hṛdayarañjakam //
Gītam ca vādanam nṛttam taddeśityabhidhīyate /[42]

[It is of two kinds : *mārga* and *deśī*. That is called *mārga* which was pursued or created by Brahmā and others and performed before God Śiva by Bharata and which is certain to lead to happiness. That vocal, instrumental or dance recital which is pleasing to the hearts of the people in each region according to the r tastes is *deśī*.]

We have no means to ascertain the forms of music created by Brahma. We can presume, however, that the forms of music treated in the '*Nāṭyaśastra*' of Bharat and subsequent ancient books on music were considered *mārga* and the rest, mostly regional, *deśī*. These *deśī* forms were not all feminine.

'*Bharatakośa*' defines *deśī* as follows :

Abalābālagopālaiḥ kṣitipālairni jecchayā /
Gīyate sānurāgeṇa svadeśe deśirucyate //[43]

[That which is sung spontaneously and lovingly by women, children, cowherds and kings in their own regions is *deśī*.]

Someśvara in '*Mānāsollāsa*' (1129) has mentioned a number of these, which he stipulates are not to be sung in concerts. The occasions on which they are to be sung and/or persons who sing them are also mentioned viz. *tripadi* by women in love or separation, *ṣaṭpadi* in tales, *dhavala* in marriages, *mangala* during festivals, *caryā* by yogis, *Ovi* by women while pounding, *carcarī* during Holi celebtation, *rahaḍī* in heroic tales and *dantika* by cowherds in debates.[44] Besides these there must have been other forms of *deśī* music such as those sung by professional singing and dancing girls, e.g., *tappā* (Punjab),

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ṭhumari (Uttar Pradesh), *lāvaṇī* (Maharashtra), etc. *Dombikā* mentioned above, was sung by roving troupes.

In mediaeval India male musicians were classified under four heads viz. *nāyak, gandharv, kalāvant* and *guṇī* or *guṇijan* 1) *Nayak* was one who was adept in both theory and practice of *mārga* music in all its three branches, viz., vocal, instrumental and dance, and who could impart instruction in all these, 2) *Gandharv* was one who could sing to perfection both *mārga* and *deśī* music; 3) *kalāvant* was one who could sing to perfection only *mārga* music and 4) *Gunī* was one who was proficient only in *deśī* music, In this classification one notices that there are instructors only in *mārga* music and none in *deśī* music. From whom did then *gāndharv* and *guṇīs* learn *deśī* music ? Certainly not from *nāyak-s* since they were not competent to give instruction in *deśī* music. In fact *deśī* music was so vast and varied that no single individual could have done it. Besides, popular music, if learnt secondhand would lose its living, throbbing vitality. It could be retained only if it were learnt from the populace itself. *Guṇis* who came mostly from the communities of singing girls, picked it up from the elders in their families and *gāndharv-s* learnt it from all sources in their wanderings in search of music. In this connection the following passage from Prof. B R. Deodhar's article on Faiyazkhan is illuminating. He writes :

> I asked him, 'From whom did you learn *ṭhumrī* and *dādrā* ?' He said, 'Nobody taught me *ṭhumrī*, I learned it by my ear. I have been going to Benaras, Lucknow, Delhi since my childhood and there I have heard many renowned *ṭhumrī* singers and songstresses. It has been an ancient custom among these songstresses to invite to dinner reputed musicians who visited their towns. Dinner was followed by music. The hostess and other local artistes would sing first and then request the guest artiste to sing. I have attended innumerable such parties and heard great many artistes. This is how I learnt *ṭhumrī*'[45]

It was not at such dinner parties alone that these musicians

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heard *deśī* music. There were many other occasions. We know that many of them were engaged by singing girls to give them instruction in classical music. Naturally they must have had many more opportunities to hear their disciples and other local or visiting artistes in their music-halls. What is more, even during instruction they must have heard with delight their disciples execute a classical phrase with a touch of *deśi* melody and later assimilated it consciously or otherwise into their own classical music. Teaching is a two way process in which both the teacher and the taught learn from each other. It is precisely because of such influences that the classical music of Faiyaz, Maujuddin,Bade Ghulam ali and a host of others could delight even the uninitiated. Pandit Vishnu Digambar and his disciples, in their zeal to raise the social status of music, kept away from this class with the result that classical music of that school lost all its original charm, grace and passion. *Deśī* music is the soil from which classical music draws its sustenance and elan. Uprooted from that soil it languishes.

The bhakti cult, which flourished in North India from the 10th century onwards, gave a great impetus to *Deśī* music. All the apostles of bhakti in mediaeval India were great singers and music was their natural medium of expression. These apostles, who came mostly from the masses and moved among the masses, employed *deśī* music for the propagation of their teachings. It was only when the brahmin class joined this cult that music, more than devotion, predominated in *kīrtan.* Being well-versed in music *Hridasa-s* presented devotional songs in various *mārga* and *deśī* forms including even the *kyhāl* which, as we have seen earlier, Namdev resented. Namdev's protest did not prove effective and later on even the *tappā* and *lavaṇī* forms came to be used in presenting devotional songs. Bhakti-songs, which use Radha and Krishna as symbols for the devotee and God, easily lend themselves to be interpreted as love songs. How thin is the boundaryline between the two can be seen by comparing the following two compositions :

Khyāl in Bageśrī

Kona gata bhaī mori re /
Piyā na puche akahī bāta //

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Eka bana dhūndi sakala ban dhūndi /
Dāra dāra aru saba phūla pâta //

[What a state have I been reduced to : The beloved does not care for me. I have been wandering from one garden to another (in search of him) looking at every branch and all the flowers].

Devotional Song

Batāde sakhi kauna gali gayo Śāma /
Gokul dhundī, Brindāban dhundī /
Dhunda phire cārī dhāma //

Raina divasa mohī talapata bītī /
Bisara gaye saba kāma //

[O friend, show me the lane by which Śama went. I have combed the whole of Gokul and Brindāban. I have sought him in all the four sacred places. I have been restless day and night, neglecting all the (daily) work.]

The *khyāl* could thus easily enter the *kīrtan* music in the garb of bhakti. But it was still kept out of classical concerts. The objection now was not so much to its erotic element and feminine quality, as they were metamorphosed into an expression of bhakti, but to its sportive gait, which even the garb of bhakti could not hide from the critical eyes of the highbrow. The comparatively faster tempo and the frequency of short and long *tāna*-patterns in the *khyāl* prevented it from maintaining the purity of *rāgā-s*, and that, in the eyes of purists, was its grievous sin. And yet we know that it not only secured admittance to classical music, but also attained a high rank there. There is no record of this successful struggle of the *khyāl* for recognition as classical music, but with a little imagination we can reconstruct its history. The recent history of the *ṭhumrī* might help us in this attempt.

Till very recent times the *ṭhumrī* was looked down upon as a low and vulgar form of music. Classical singers would not sing it. It was considered fit to be sung by singing girls, making amorous gestures at an audience comprised mostly of lewd

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people. But now it almost become a necessary item in a classical concert. What brought about this change in attitude? Writing about Maujuddinkhan, the great exponent of *ṭhumrī*, Govindrao Tembe says :

> I was firmly of the opinion that the *ṭhumrī*, like *lāvaṇī*, was a form of music meant only for lewd people who derive prurient pleasure in listening to erotic songs sung by dancing girls. But when I heard Maujuddin my eyes opened to a new world of music.

Maujuddinkhan had a huge shapeless figure of a wrestler, a very dark complexion and a face covered with pockmarks—the form and the features, both most unsuited to the presentation of an erotic song. And yet he presented it superbly. How could he do it ? Govindrao describes :

> Maujuddinkhan sang 'More Rājā kivaḍiyā khola barīṣakī būnda paḍī' (My sweet Prince open the door; rain drops are falling.) a light composition set to *dādrā tāla* in fast *laya*. The beloved is standing in the veranda of the bedroom and the lover has playfully closed the door behind her. Suddenly raindrops have started falling. She is asking him to open the door as otherwise she would get wet in the rain. The lover wants to see her thoroughly drenched and does not heed her request. She repeats her request now plainly, now with feigned anger, now cajolingly, now indignantly, now smilingly, now threateningly, now lovingly, now desperately. Maujuddinkhan presented all these and many more shades of feelings by appropriate pronunciation of words, suitable modulation of tones and concordant embellishment of musical notes.

Thus was the new world of music opened to the eyes and ears of Govindrao Tembe. He concludes :

> The whole art in presentation of a *ṭhumrī* lies in appropriate pronunciation and embellishment of words. Giving prominence to the words of the composition, changing them with various emotional shades and embellishing them with appropriate small and

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> sweet musical notes is the very essence of a *ṭhumrī* recital. Those singing girls who cannot interpret subtle shades of emotion by vocal and musical means try to make good their deficiency by body-gestures and facial expressions.[46]

By divesting the *ṭhumrī* of seductive gestures and exploiting fully its musical potentialities Maujuddin Khan removed from it the stigma of lewdness and made it respectable. But even this respectablity could not secure it a place in the rank of classical music. It was Abdul Karim Kha ı who elevated it to that status. Vamanro Deshpande writes :

> It should be observed that *ṭhumrī-s* are not taught or learnt as part of the training in any *gharānā*. Only Kirana is an exception. It is its custom to sing *ṭhumrī-s* and even to impart instruction in them to disciples. But Kirana *ṭhumrī* has always b.en subjected to a criticism which is very meaningful. According to critics the real *ṭhumrī* is the Pūrab type *ṭhumri*; the Kirana *ṭhumrī* does not possess its lilt. Its word-pronunciation is unclear and its expressivity of sentiment mild. Again, it is sung in a leisurely and long-drawn-out manner. It is no *ṭhumrī*, they would say. It is in fact a *khyāl* sung in the manner of a *ṭhumrī*.
>
> This criticism really means that Kirana has toned down the *ṭhumrī*, purified it and brought it within the bounds of classical restraint.[47]

It was thus that the *ṭhumrī* which was once considered a disreputable and low form of music has now earned both respectability and status through the efforts of Maujuddin Khan and Abdul Karim Khan. It has now become an invariable custom to conclude a classical recital with a *ṭhumrī* in *Bhairavī*. We, however, still find a few pockets of resistance among the traditionalists who refuse to sing *ṭhumrī* and conclude their recital with a *khyāl* in *Mālkauns* or *Jogiyā*.

What has happened in the case of *ṭhumrī* in recent times is likely to have happened in the case of the proto-*khyāl* some

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centuries ago. Although the *dhrupad* was considered classical, masculine and respectable, both musicians and lovers of music must have found the feminine *deśī* music of singing and dancing girls attractive. This music is likely to have entered classical concerts in the form of *dhamār* which seems to be a compromise between the *dhrupad* and the proto-*khyāl*. *Dhamār* means a riot, an unrestrained revelry during the Holi festival when Krishna and gopis spla hed colour on each other and sang and danced exuberantly. This revelry is usually described by a gopi and is in Brajabhasa. The *dhamār* departs from the *dhrupad*-style in many respects. Although performed by a male artiste, the composition in *dhamār* expresses sentiments of a female, the sentiment is predominantly erotic. the *sama* instead of being on the first *mātrā* as in the *dhrupad* is on the fifth or the sixth *mātrā* and *dugan*, *caugan*, *bol-tān* which are not permitted in the *dhrupad* are freely executed. The *dhamār* thus stands midway between the *dhrupad* and the *khyāl*.

Although the *dhamār* could thus gain entry to classical concerts, the proto-*khyāl* was still kept out. Later on it also was admitted and in this process Muslim rulers played a prominent role.

When Muslim rulers came to India the *dhrupad* was the respectable form of music and was performed in temples as well as in darbars. Hindu rulers were lovers of music and even those who were not, were certainly its patrons by virtue of their position. When Muslim rulers took their place they also had to patronize music. But could they have loved Indian music as their predecessors did ? *Dhrupad* compositions were mostly in Sanskrit and in praise of either God or the King, who was considered an incarnation of God Vishnu. Its style of singing was masculine and was tied down by rigid rules. It was a type of music which could appeal only to those who were brought up in the Indian tradition. It is quite easy for foreigners to fall in love with the Indian land and its seasons, its flora and fauna, its women and their charms, as Amir Khusro did. But could they feel reverence for the Hindu religion and its sacred books, its gods and goddesses, its forms

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of worship and devotion etc. ? Even Amir Khusro, an ardent lover of Indian music and arts and a great liberal and litterateur, does not hide his antipathy towards Hindu religion, when he writes about the exploits of Allauddin Khilji. He writes :

> The whole country by, means of the sword of our holy warriors, has become like a forest denuded of its thorns by fire. The land has been saturated with the water of the sword and the vapours of infidelity [i.e. Hinduism] have been dispersed. The strong men of Hind have been trodden under foot, and all are ready to pay tribute. Islam is triumphant; idolatry is subdued. Had not the law granted exemption from death by the payment of poll-tax, the very name of Hind, root and branch, would have been extinguished.[48]

It is quite natural, therefore, that these foreigners should prefer the lilting, erotic music of singing and dancing girls accompanied by alluring flirtatious gestures to the ponderous devotional music of the *dhrupad*. That even Hindu rulers were not immune to its charms is clear from the definition of *deśī* music quoted :

'When the king falls in love with a maidservant, she becomes the queen', is a traditional exemplum often cited in old Indian literature. This *deṣī* music, which was till then the maidservant of classical music, did possess musical potentialities of its own to aspire to that position and musicologists were not averse to making changes in their own rules to suit the wishes of king. Did they not, while specifying the time of the day when a particular *rāga* could be sung, make the following exception to suit the pleasure of the king?

Rangabhumau nṛpājñāyām kaladoṣo na vidyate.[49]

[The rule regarding suitable time for singing a particular *rāga* is not violated if it sung in a play or at the behest of the king.]

This maidservant, however, did not succeed in usurping the throne immediately. There was considerable resistance from

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the court-musicians and she had to bide her time. This she fruitfully utilized in cultivating the regal airs and divesting herself of extra-musical trappings which betrayed her low birth. In the meanwhile the queen, too, in order to keep her throne, imbibed the musical charms of her rival. When at last the new queen came to the throne it was difficult to make out whether the occupant was the proto *khyāl* which had given up its waywardness of *desī* music and submitted itself to the discipline of classical music or the *dhrupad* which had freed itself from the shackles of classical music and assimilated the charms of *desī* music – or did both occupy the same throne by turns?

In a *khyāl* performance two separate compositions are usually presented in each *rāga*. The first is called a *barā-khyāl* and the second a *chotā khyāl*. The *barā khyāl* employs a longer *tāla* and is sung to slow *laya*. The slow, steady and sure development of a *rāga* in *barā-khyāl* preserves its serenity and weight. It consists mostly of *ālāp-s* and *bol-ālāp-s* and *tāna-s* are usually generated by executing *ālāp-s* in *dugan* and *caugan*. The themes of the poetic composition is usually solemn, similar to that of a *dhrupad*. The *chotā khyāl* has a comparatively lighter theme such as that of a *ṭhumrī* and is sung first to medium and then to fast *laya*. Full scope is given in this *khyāl* to *tāna-s* and *bol-tāna-s*.

Now, it is remarkable that no other form of Indian music employs two separate compositions to present a single *rāga* and it is not even necessary as is evident from the performances of Kesarbai Kerkar and Mogubai Kurdikar, who usually recited only one composition and stil managed to give complete satisfaction to their audience. The close resemblance of the *baṛā-khyāl* to *dhrupad* and of the *chotā-khyāl* to *ṭhumrī* throws considerable light on the origin of the *khyāl*. One is reminded here of the incident in the career of Haddu Khan, narrated above, in which having failed to impress by his *khyāl* recital the *dhrupad*-oriented audience of Calcutta, he beguiled it the next day by singing only *barā-khyāl-s* in slow *laya*, restricting the recital only to the *gamak-s* peculiar to the *dhrupad*. This incident shows how close the *barā-khyāl* was

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to the *dhrupad* about a century and a quarterago.

It should be clear from the above that the *barā-khyāl* is the *dhrupad* which has assimilated the charms of *deśī*-music and the *chotā-khyāl* is the proto-*khyāl* or *ṭhumrī* which has undergone the discipline of clssical music. The fact, that composition recited in the *barā-khyāl* are many time *dhrupad* compositions and are called truncated *dhrupad-s* as they consist of only *astāyī* and *antarā* instead of *astāyī*, *antrā*, *sanacārī* and *ābhog* as in *dhrupād*, and the compositions recited in the *chotā-khyāl* are mostly *ṭhumari-s* or compositions akin to them, lends sufficient support to this genesis of the *khyāl*. The evolution of the present *khyāl* is as much due to the influence of Muslim ruler-s, whose hearts were captivated by the grace, charm and gaiety of *desī* music, as to the reverence felt by Indian musicians for the purity, serenity and discipline of classical music.

It may not be unreasonable to surmise that even the banishment of music from the court by Aurangzeb, who it is said, hated music on religious grounds, contributed in some degree to the evolution of the present *khyāl*, Even as the recent prohibition of liquor carried the art of brewing to the homes of common men, this banishment of music from the court is likely to have induced musicians to seek patronage of rich merchants and moneylenders, who were more attracted to the sensual *deśī* than to disciplined classical music. But we have very little evidence to substantiate this surmise.

The Indian Renaissance ushered in by the British rulers, who undertook an extensive reconnaissance of Indian history, art and culture in order to gain a surer understanding of and firmer grip on the new subject people, gave a fillip to the study and performance of classical music. The publication of Capt. Willard's '*Music of India*' in 1834 inspired music lovers like Krisnadhan Bandopadhyay, V.N. Bhatkhande and others to undertake study of classical Indian musie in depth. Pandit Vishnu Digamber Paluskar toured the whole of India giving performances and lectures and founding schools of music in order to rehabilitate classical music among the educated classes. Even scholars like R.G. Bhandarkar, the renowned orientalists

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and Justice K.T. Telang sat at the feet of Pandit Balkrishnabuwa Ichalkaranjkar to receive instruction in classical music. The newly educated middle class which, being brought up in the morals of the Victorian age, would not visit music halls run by professional dancing and singing girls started music circles of their own, where eminent artistes gave regular recitals. It was these music circles which changed the connotation of the word '*gharānā*' from the 'family' (to which a musician belonged) to the 'school of music'. The spirit of reform pervading all social, educational, literary and artistic activities during this period enthused even the musicians to rejuvenate the traditional *dhrupad* style by infusing it with the charming features of *deśī* music. The characteristics of each *gharānā* of music could be defined by ascertaining the number of features of *deśī* music incorporated in its *khyāl* and the manner in which they are blended with the classical style, The fact that all the present *gharānā·s* of Indian music, with the exception of the Gwalior *gharānā*, came to be founded towards the close of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century is significant in this context.

We have so far tried to reconstruct the history and evolution of the *khyāl*. That there was a style of singing called the *khyāl* in the mediaeval times is authenticated by the records cited earlier. But no mediaeval record notes its relation to the *dhrupad* and the *deśī* music of its time. To this extent, therefore, our reconstruction remains hypothetical. But the view expressed by Śrī Bandopadhyay, who lived when the *dhrupad* was still considered the highest form of classicāl music in Bengal, lends considerable support to this hypothesis. He says:

> Capt. Willard writes in his treatise on Indian Music that Sultan Hussain Sirki of Jaunpur created the *khyāl* in the 15th century. But it is not reasonable to suppose that the *khyāl* was created by any one person. The *khyāl* type of music was prevalent even before the time of Sultan Sirki, though it is likely that it was not considered respectable by the elite. Perhaps the Sultan had a personal preference for this type of music and

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might have extended his royal patronage to *khyāl* singers and thus given it respectability.[50]

Śrī G.H. Ranade's observation in this regard is much more heartening. He says :

> ...there is great similarity in the development of a *khyāl* and a *dhrupad* at least in their first half. As the *khyāl* employs the glide and the other techniques of the *ṭhumrī*, it incorporates in itself some features of the *thumrī* also. In the *khyāl*, the *bol-tāna-s* and *tāna-s* employing *gamaka-s* remind one of the *tarānā-s* too. Again as the *khyāl* offers full scope for executing *tāna-s* both short and long, simple and complex, with trills and shakes and such other forms of grace, it has much that belongs to the technique of the *ṭappā*.
>
> In short, the *khyāl*-style incorporates in itself the very best of each form of composition and on that account easily surpasses the other forms. This is the secret, then, why the *khyāl* of all form has been recei ving the homage of all music-lovers for the last two centuries and over.[51]

Our hypothesis regarding the birth of *khyāl* is based on the theory that the so called *deśī* music rises, in the course of time, to the status of classical music. Rāṇā Kumbha, in his monumental work 'Sangītarāja' (1449), exemplifies this theory with the help of a myth. He says :

Nānādeśasamudbhāvaśca lalanāstābhistataḥ śikṣitāḥ /
Tābhyopyatra paramparāgatamidam lokapratiṣṭhāmagat /
Pārthāyaitadupādiśatpunaridam gandharvalokādhipaḥ /
Śrīmānścitrarathastadetadakhilam mārgābhidhamtatvataḥ//[25]

> [This (*deśī*) music was originally taught to women of this region by songstresses who came from different parts of the country. On account of a long tradition it acquired a status of its own. Citrarat, the lord of gandharva-s, taught this (*deśī* music) to Arjun (during his five year stay in heaven as the guest of his father Indra). This music, verily, deserves to be called classical.

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This tradition of gandharva-s learning music from women and passing it on to male disciples and in the process raising its status has continued uninterupted right upto the present times. The gandharva, as we have seen earlier, was a title given to those who were proficient in both classical and *deśī* music. In Maharashtra four great musicians, viz Rahimat Khan (? - 1922, Bhūgandharva), Rambhau Kundgolkar (1886-1952, Savāigandharva), Narayanrao Rajhans (1888-1967, Bālgandharva) and Shivaputra Komkali (1925—), Kumārgandharva), have been given this title. The music of everyone of them shows an unmistakable influence of *deśī* music. Maujuddin Khan and Faiyaz Khan who raised the *ṭhumrī* to the status of classical music and gave the heavy *khyāl* the lilting touch of *deśī* music belong to this line of descent. It was gandharva-s belonging to this tradition of Citrarath who metamorphosed the *dhrupad* into the *barā-khyāl* in slow *laya* and the proto-*khyāl* into the *chotā-khyāl* in fast *laya*.

When two mature art forms come together the influence exercised is seldom one-way. Each influences and changes the complexion of the other. *Deśī* music was not an exception to this. It also assimilated some of the features of classical music. What is more, it has retained all the stages in the evolution of the *khyāl* in one of the most popular folk-theatres of Maharashtra viz. the *tamāshā*. A *tamāshā* performance begins with *gaṇa*—an invocation to Ganapati which is sung in the *dhrupad* style; this is followed by *goulaṇ*-songs of gopi's protest against the advances of Krishna and their ultimate surrender to him—. which are mostly in the *dhamār* style; and the programme concludes with a session of dance and music-ostensibly in a music-hall, which bears close resemblance to the *ṭappā*, *ṭhumrī* and *khyāl* styles.

The present *khyāl* took almost six centuries to evolve from the *dhrupad*; but Govindrao Tembe was a witness in his life time, to a metamorphosis of a *dhrupadiyā* into a *khyāliyā*. The musician who underwent this change was Manji Khan (? 1937), the second son of Alladiya Khan. Alladiya Khan although famous as the founder of Jaipur *gharānā* of *khyāl*,

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was essentially a *dhrupadiyā*. His sons, therefore, were initiated into music with instruction in the *dhrupad* by their uncle Hyder Khan. Govindrao, who attended their debut with very high expectations, was sorely disappointed at their performance, when they presented only *dhrupad-s*. He writes :

> I made bold to ask the venerable Hyder Khan, 'Your nephews don't seem to be able to execute any *tana-palatā-s*. Are their voices immobile ?' Hyder Khan smiled and said, 'Young man, we do not very much care for the acrobatics of voice as presented in the *khyāl*. Within a year or so these children will be able to spin their voices like a top. When they have learnt *dhrupad*-compositions in various *rāga-s* and fixed the vocal image of the intricate pattern of each *rāga* in their memory, they would be able to see their way to modulate their voices without in any way disturbing the basic structure of the *rāga*. When their voice has mastered the intricascies of patterns in expounding compositions in the *dhrupad* and *dhamār*, it would use, without any effort, the skill thus acquired in executing *ālāp* and *tāna* patterns in a *khyāl*-composition. When an artiste has imbibed the discipline of the *dhrupad-dhamār* he could play felicitously both with the notes and words of a *khyāl* composition without in any way violating the purity of notes or slackening the rigour of the *tāna*-pattern. The *khyāl*, as its name implies, is a child's play to one who has mastered the *dhrupad*-style.' I did not understand then the full import of what he said; it dawned on me after a few years.

The elder son gave up music on account of bad health while Manji Khan slowly began to come under the influence of Rahimat Khan, who was staying in the neighbourhood of Kolhapur during those years. Śrī Tembe continues :

> Many claimed to be disciples of Haddu Khan father of Rahimat Khan and founder of the Gwalior *gharānā*, but none could, even to a small degree, display in his performance the tender grace of Rahimat

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> Khan's. Manji Khan's performance, however, would manifest that quality to such an extent that the audience wondered whether he had received instruction more from Rahimat Khan than from his own father. But when, with the words of the refrain, he approached the completion of one and beginning of another *tāla*-cycle, it was the father's style that dominated the theme. His style was a unique fusion of the tender grace of Rahimat Khan and native majesty of Alladiya Khan. He could exploit fully the musical potentialities of any composition without disregarding the dignity of classical style or upsetting the total balance of the art form.....

He would expound an unusual *rāga* with astonishing ease, embellish a *ṭhumrī* or a devotional song with pleasing notes and render a Marathi song with intense feeling. Whatever the art form he presented—whether a *khyāl*, a *ṭhumrī*, a devotional song, a *gazal* or a Marathi stage song—he would unfailingly give an emotive touch to the words of the composition without compromising, however, the dignity of the *rāga*, *tāla* and *svara*.[53]

Thus did a *dhrupadiyā* metamorphose into a *khyaliyā* and later into a *gandharva* within a very short span of time.

In the same context Govindrao Tembe has said the difference between the performances of Alladiya Khan and Manji Khan is comparable to that between the Bḥagavadgita and 'Jñāneśvarī.' The same could be said of the difference between the *dhrupad* and the *khyāl*. 'Jñāneśvarī' is an exposition of the 'Bhagavadgīta' in Marathi. The basic thought content and the argument of both is, therefore, the same. What has made 'Jñāneśvarī' much more pleasing and appealing than the 'Bhagavadgīta' is the feeling with which the author-Jñāneśvara—has rendered it and the *deśī* language in which he has presented it, Jñānesvara himself says of his work, 'I have rejuvenated the Gītā by expounding it in the fresh and youthful Marathi language, injecting into it the charm and vitality of the *deśī* tongue.' This is exactly what the *khyāliyā-s* did to the *dhrupad*. They transplanted the very heart of *deśī* music in the *dhrupad* and it blossomed into the *khyāl*.

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